

10-4559/a

22 JUN 1958

Card
 Mr. John Cowles
 The Star and Tribune
 Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear John:

Thank you for sending the copy of your Drake University Commencement address.

On the subject of the alleged atomic tests in China, we find that Senator Humphrey was misquoted in some press releases. The Congressional Record indicates that he did not state that these detonations involved atomic explosives.

The information on these explosions stems from a Soviet publication of August 1957 in which it was reported that 1,640, 4,000 and 9,200 tons of high explosives were used to open a large pit mine near Lanchow in July, November and December 1956. The journal noted that other explosions had been set off to open a deep cut for a rail line being built between Paochi and Chengtu and that a mountain ridge had been cut through twice by "gigantic blasts" on the course of the same railroad.

Thus far, we have no reason to believe that these blasting operations involve other than conventional explosives.

Hoping that this has been of some help, I remain

Sincerely,

SIGNED

Allen W. Dulles
 Director

OSI/NED/[]:pf (17 June 58)

Distribution: 2 - addressee 1 - DCI 1 - DDCI 1 - Exec Reg 1 - Leg C.
 2 - AD/SI 2 - NED/SI 1 - DD/T

COMSEC/SEC/SEC.

Assistant Director, SI

Legislative Counsel

Deputy Director/Inte

JUN 1958

20 JUN 1957

JUN 19 1958

(EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE)

JOHN COWLES
THE STAR AND TRIBUNE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

AWD/kmc

June 9, 1958

Dear Allen:

Conceivably you might be interested in glancing at parts of a speech I recently made, which is reproduced on the attached tearsheet.

Unless it is top secret, could you tell me for my own private information whether the Russians presumably have conducted some underground or above-ground atomic tests in Red China?

It is my impression that Senator Humphrey some weeks ago stated that they had, whether as a fact or as a surmise I do not recall. It is also my impression that subsequently I read somewhere that the thing had been officially confirmed, but I can't locate the clipping, which I thought I had torn out to save.

With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

John

Mr. Allen W. Dulles
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C.

60462

The Voice
of Minnesota

Largest Morning Newspaper
in the Upper Midwest



Telephone Federal 3-2111

PAGE 5

VOLUME 101
NUMBER 16

MONDAY, JUNE 9, 1958
PUBLISHED AT 425 PORTLAND AVENUE, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

DeGaulle's First Week

JOSEPH C. HARSCH calls the first days of France's deGaulle government "as reassuring to those who were most anxious about it as they are disappointing to those primarily responsible for bringing it about."

We would make only a minor change in this summary by the Christian Science Monitor's analyst. "We would make the sentence read 'disappointing to some of those primarily responsible . . .'"

DeGaulle's first moves certainly dismayed the xenophobic Jacques Soustelle, the conspiring Leon Delbecq, the Algerian French organizers of the rebellious public safety committees. But we doubt that DeGaulle has disappointed the army as a whole, which also was a prime mover in bringing him to power and which seems unhappy with some of its partners in that venture.

How has deGaulle reassured those most anxious about him? Why do the words he spoke at his press conference May 19 in defense of the republic and against dictatorship now seem so much more valid?

FIRST IN ORDER was the cabinet he selected. No post was given to Soustelle or anyone directly involved with the Algerian insurrection. DeGaulle named men of and for the republic, including three of his former premiers. He named men committed to NATO and European unification.

Next was deGaulle's behavior in the critical hour when he gave the national assembly the choice of accepting his first constitutional reform or his resignation. After delivering his ultimatum he sat down at the government bench like any other premier and answered questions of the deputies. It was not the act of one who would destroy the republic or its legislature.

Finally came deGaulle's quick trip to Algeria, with an exhaustive round of speeches at Algiers, Constantine, Bone and Oran. Here deGaulle made it crystal clear that he intended to fold up the public safety committees and that he expected the army to obey orders.

There seems no doubt that the army's allegiance to deGaulle is unswerving. This means the Algerian insurgent groups are stripped of any real power. It means another threat to the republic is eased and perhaps eliminated.

BASIC PROBLEMS of staggering size remain for deGaulle to tackle. He has not yet spelled out in detail either the government's reforms to his plan for Algeria. He has not yet asked for a French economy weakened by the long debilitating political crisis.

But Charles deGaulle has made an impressive beginning. The figurative sighs of relief one can detect in the atmosphere come not only from France. They come from capitals of countries allied with France, including Washington. They come from Tunis and Rabat.

They come finally from all who love France and appreciate French contributions to all that is worthwhile in our civilization.

A Good Recommendation

THE BOARD of directors of the Minneapolis Citizens Committee on Public Education has taken an intelligent action in voting unanimously to oppose the proposal to convert Minneapolis to a Chapter 947 independent school district.

As the board found after a careful and objective study, the proposal is not appropriate for the size of Minneapolis, and could do great damage to the public school system.

Major defects in the Chapter 947 proposal, on which the city will vote at the

primary election in September, were outlined as follows:

- Registration of voters — a necessary safeguard to insure honest elections — is not mandatory.

- Holding elections annually would increase costs.

- Electing school directors for three instead of six years would make their terms too short for effective service, require members to run for re-election just when they reach a high point of effectiveness, and probably increase the turnover of membership.

- Primary elections for school board would be eliminated and candidates would file not more than 30 or less than 12 days before an election. It would be virtually impossible for voters in a city the size of Minneapolis to become adequately informed about the candidates and their platforms in such a short campaign.

- The new legislation, if approved in Minneapolis, would permit election of school board members by districts. A petition of 50 voters could bring the question up and a majority of the voters could put it into effect. City-wide election of board members is preferable because it limits factionalism and log-rolling.

- There is no provision for temporary borrowing against anticipated tax receipts, and the alternate methods probably would be more costly.

- Voters would have to approve any bond issues of more than \$1,000,000 requested by the school board. This is an unrealistically low figure in a large city.

Seventeen of the 25 members of the board of directors were present at the meeting at which the resolution was adopted unanimously. The board makes what we regard as an excellent case against the Chapter 947 proposal. We hope its recommendation is followed and the measure beaten.

After a study of a modified independent district plan can be resumed. As the Citizens committee directors said, the school board should have fiscal independence, but there are better ways to achieve it than through the Chapter 947 proposal.

Lincoln (Confidential)

THE OTHER DAY the temporary office of the special commission planning next year's celebration of the 150th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birthday sent commission members copies of the minutes of their last meeting. The minutes recorded discussions of offices for the commission staff, possible commemorative coins, the appointment of honorary commission members, a vote to increase its budget from \$10,000 to \$750,000 and a verbal tussle over staff appointments.

The minutes were "classified," stamped "Confidential . . . for commission members."

Why? Curious newsmen were unable to find out.

Sen. John Sherman Cooper, chairman, said the commission had no authority to classify information and didn't want any. However, said Cooper, the Library of Congress had prepared the minutes; maybe that office could be helpful.

It couldn't. The Library said the national park service had done the job. The park service said the commission's executive assistant, the executive assistant said he hadn't even seen the minutes.

The whole Wonderland display of buck-passing puts in proper sly perspective the "Classified" compulsion which is as much a mark of identification of the Washington bureaucrat as is Robin's red breast or Napoleon's cocked hat and hand under coat.

MAGAZINE U.S. Policy Contributed to Weakness of France

COMMENT

By HJALMAR BJORNSSON

of the editorial page staff

NOTHING this country could have done could have prevented the crisis in France, but nevertheless Henry Hazlitt tells News-Week that he feels our foreign policy in the past has been "futile" and there is serious question

it did not help precipitate the crisis.

Passing over our political interference and considering economic measures alone, if we had not so freely poured in government economic aid, and sponsored such unwise institutions as the international monetary fund, with its support of exchange control and artificial currency rates, France would have had to attract private capital," Hazlitt writes.

In these circumstances, it would not have plunged so heavily into draining, socialist adventures. It would have had to abandon paper-money inflation and stabilize the franc. Much the same might be

said of the end results of our aid to South American countries," Hazlitt declares.

Life magazine feels we can expect that deGaulle "will make some objections about the great NATO is now conducted. The mistake the U.S. could make is to reject his complaints out of hand and insist on NATO in its present form."

"NATO was founded in 1949 on premises, including U.S. A-bomb supremacy, since modified or outdated. Its plans and expectations for a troop build-up have been unfulfilled to the point where the plans are now unrealistic. If we expect deGaulle to face the fact of the Russian threat, he can legitimately expect us to do some real 'reappraising' about exactly how we met it," according to Life.

Canadians Debate Anti-American Issue

A head-on clash in Maclean's magazine between two of Canada's foremost authors over the issue that is becoming more contentious daily — the Canadian-American relationship — reveals the deep

stubborn conflict.

If Canada is to evade "complete subjugation by the United States," says Farley Mowat (Palgrave, Ontario, novelist), and if Canada is ever to become a great nation in its own right, then it is time to raise the flag of revolution. It's time we hit back against the United States and its rights and our lives."

Mowat feels that the topic of Canadian-American relationships is probably the most important single factor influencing their society, but has "nothing but contempt" for Canadian writers who have been driven from our souls in the interests of brotherhood when it is only a synonym for "Americanism."

Morley Callaghan (a Toronto novelist) feels that anti-Americanism "so prevalent in Canada right now, is kept below the surface by writers can plausibly deny it exists. For years now the United States has been the moral whipping-boy, and this way, we have been able to inflate our national sense of virtue and self-righteousness."

Editor's Note: Following is the text of an address by John Cowles, president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, at the Drake University commencement in Des Moines, Iowa.

THE WORLD HAS CHANGED more in the last 20 years—the period in which this graduating class has been living—than it changed in the previous 200 years, and the rate of change is increasing at an ever accelerating pace.

Most of the really basic problems that we face today stem from the fact that discoveries in the natural or physical sciences (physics, chemistry, and the like) have far outstripped the developments in the field of the social sciences, namely the relationships of human beings within and toward organized society.

The ultimate consequences of the discovery and development of fusion and fusion are almost beyond our powers of comprehension. Many other lesser scientific discoveries and developments which have come in your lifetime—things in the electronics and medical fields, for example, to say nothing of possible space ships—will also have enormous effects in changing the shape of society.

The incredibly rapid rate at which science is now developing is illustrated by the fact that, according to Robert Oppenheimer, 90 per cent of all the scientists who ever have lived in the world are alive now, and most of the things on which they are currently working were not even listed in university textbooks a generation ago because those things were then unknown.

The torrent of scientific advances that is presently sweeping over the world, and which is continuing at an ever more rapid pace, threatens, unless we can rapidly eliminate many of the outworn stereotypes in our thinking, to engulf us. We must recognize many of our social and political institutions, or we won't be able to preserve our traditional free society.

Old System Has Broken Down

The whole international system which provided a large measure of stability for the hundred years before this graduating class was born has broken down, economically, socially and politically. Since this graduating class was born, the majority of the peoples of the world have radically changed their forms of government. Since the end of World War II, some 20 new countries have attained independence. Throughout the world there has occurred what is aptly called "the revolution of rising expectations." In this revolution, half the people of the world are rebelling against the social and racial discriminations and low living standards to which they had submitted for centuries.

Many of the peoples of these newly emergent countries, as well as the peoples of other areas that are still colonial but who are demanding their independence, aren't yet actually ready for self-government. Nevertheless, the pressures for independence are irresistible. Most of these people have colored skins—black or brown or yellow—while their rulers are or until recently were white men. The racial differences and suspicions or possibly prejudice complicate our relations. Most of these peoples have seen American movies. Many of them came in contact with American troops during World War II, and all of them have heard about life in America. They erroneously assume that if they acquire independence, and when they do, they will soon have a standard of living comparable to that of the United States.

An Irresistible Ferment

Most of Africa is in ferment, and most of the colonial peoples there are demanding their freedom or the other newly free people are demanding it for them. For example, Somalia, on the east coast of Africa is formerly an Italian colony with a million and a quarter people which was put under United Nations trusteeship after World War II. The United Nations has voted that in 1960 Somalia is to become a sovereign nation with complete independence. Although no one knows the precise number, experts estimate that at least 50,000 people in the entire country who know how to read or write in any language. Somalia has never had a written language of its own. Can a country of a million and a quarter people, where fewer than 50 of them can read and write, function successfully as a self-governing democracy in the world as it is today?

Or take Indonesia, which at one of the half dozen most populous nations in the world. The Indonesians are apparently insufficiently educated and self-disciplined to govern themselves satisfactorily. Political and economic conditions in Indonesia are deteriorating at an alarming rate. Inefficiency and corruption are widespread, and the situation is being further complicated by the skillful strategy of the Communists.

An American who is extremely well informed in Indonesia tells me that things are becoming so bad that if an election is held in Indonesia next year—even if it were a free and honest election—he anticipates that the Communists would win. If so, Indonesia would be the first country in the world that ever adopted Communism by a free vote of the people.

But because I emphasize the difficulties that these newly emergent countries face in attempting self-government, do not get the idea that I think the United States should, or could even if it so wished, suppress this world-wide trend toward independence. The tide is irresistible and irreversible. The problem we face is what we should try to do to influence and channel that tide so that our own way of life will not be replaced by one that is based on our own national security jeopardized.

I believe that we should try to help these emerging peoples of Asia and Africa and Latin America achieve more stable and responsible self-government, through providing technical assistance and financial aid for economic development on a much larger scale than our government has to date suggested.

Overemphasis on Military Aid

The great bulk of the foreign aid which in recent years we have been pouring into Asian countries has been and is for military purposes and for so-called defense support to bolster the economies of nations which have signed military alliances with us and have put large numbers of their men into uniform.

I think we have grossly overestimated the value of military alliances with underdeveloped Asian countries. In the past plans so far as many of these countries are concerned, in a showdown I do not believe the military alliances would have any real meaning, but because we have insisted on their signing these military alliances, we have given the Russians extremely effective propaganda.

Let's take a specific example, Pakistan, which is receiving a lot of foreign military aid and defense support money from us, Pakistan, because we have provided the equipment, has diverted a lot of the money of its own men into the arms of the Russian army.



Uncle Sam Enters the Space Age

Too much of Pakistan's own budget is going into military purposes, whereas it could be much better spent in building schools or roads or dams. I have been to Pakistan twice. I doubt that Pakistan would be of any significant military value to us in the event of a war with Russia. But because we have armed and are arming the Pakistanis, the Indian government feels that it must spend a large proportion of its national income on armament in order to protect itself against a possible Pakistani attack.

If we weren't giving Pakistan the amount of military aid that we are, India, in turn, could reduce its military expenditures and devote a much larger part of its budget to its economic development, in an effort to raise the standards of living of its people. If it could do this, India would be much more likely to succeed with its five-year plan of economic development. If India doesn't make appreciable economic progress in the years immediately ahead, the Indian people may conclude that the Red Chinese are doing better than they are, and that Communism consequently must be a more effective economic system.

If we would reduce the amount of military aid and defense support aid that we are giving to Asian countries and would spend that money on technical assistance and economic development, I think that we, they, and the world would be better off.

China Policy Inhibits Us

There is a growing world-wide demand for the cessation of atomic and hydrogen bomb tests. We would, I believe, before long agree to stop our tests if other countries would stop their tests under agreed upon system of a tight international inspection.

Let us assume for the moment that the Russians said they would agree, and would consent to having American and British observers in Russia if we would permit theirs in Britain and the United States. However, there have been some rumors, whether true or not I do not know, that the Russians have recently been conducting some underground atomic tests within Red China. I assume that we wouldn't want to stop our tests if we suspected that Russia would or might evade its agreement to stop tests by collusion with Red China. But since the United States does not recognize the legal existence of the Red Chinese government, what grounds could we request the right to inspect Chinese territory?

It seems to me that our present foreign policy tends to push Red China into Russia's arms. It would clearly be in our national interest to have a loosening of relations between Red China and Russia, just as it has been in our interest to encourage Tito to pull Yugoslavia away from the Kremlin.

It also seems to me to be completely unrealistic to talk about disarmament so long as the effective government of China is not included. One-fourth of all the people in the world today are Chinese. We don't permit one-third of the babies that are being born in the world today are Chinese. A nation as vast as that simply can't, in prudence, be ignored.

Some Outworn Beliefs

Earlier I mentioned that many Americans are clinging to philosophical and political and economic beliefs that were valid at one time, but which are not valid today.

For example, let's briefly consider our international trade and tariff policies. Back before World War I, when the United States was a debtor nation, when we were borrowing and had borrowed huge sums from Europe to finance our own industrial development, a policy of protective tariffs made economic sense. Since then, the facts have changed, but many of us haven't adjusted our thinking to the new facts.

Ever since 1918, the United States has sold more of its products to foreign countries than we have purchased from abroad. Today we are the largest creditor nation in the world, and our tariff policy should reflect that fact.

If, moreover, one will check the periods in the last 40 years in which we have had the greatest economic growth and prosperity here at home, one will find that these periods closely parallel the times when we were being the most liberal in making foreign loans and giving foreign countries the right to decide their trade policies. One will find that these periods closely parallel the times when we were being the most liberal in making foreign loans and giving foreign countries the right to decide their trade policies.

we have had a decline in production, a decline in employment, and in prosperity right here in the United States.

To cut back on our foreign economic aid now just because we are having a recession here at home would be exactly the wrong policy.

Let's consider another example where our past beliefs are, due to changed circumstances, no longer valid. Many Americans, without giving any real thought to the subject, assume that we have that desirable thing called national sovereignty, and they instinctively react against any suggestion of our agreeing to do anything that anyone says would "impair our national sovereignty."

Sovereignty Is Relative

One will analyze the question with an open mind, I think he will be forced to the realization that the entire concept of absolute national sovereignty is obsolete. There are degrees, but degrees only, of national sovereignty.

There can be no such thing as absolute national sovereignty so long as nations are potentially capable of shooting intercontinental ballistic missiles carrying hydrogen warheads to targets in countries thousands of miles away.

There can be no such thing as absolute national sovereignty when unborn babies may be adversely affected by harmful radioactivity stemming from atomic explosions conducted by other countries half-way around the globe.

In some areas, we have already quietly recognized that the concept of absolute national sovereignty no longer exists. We already have international agreements involving air travel, the allocation of broadcasting wave bands, health measures, and many other things in which we have delegated our so-called national sovereignty to international authority. But most Americans haven't yet realized that if we are going to survive with a free society here at home, we will inevitably have to delegate certain other more important powers to some international organization or agency.

Personally, I have increasingly come to believe that universal disarmament under international inspection and control, built on world law, offers the best prospect for attaining permanent world peace.

The day for achieving that may be a long time in the future, but I think that our government might well now set up a commission of qualified Americans to study the problems and recommend to the government and to the people what that would involve in terms of changes in the United States charter and what course we should follow in trying to reach that eventual goal.

I would, of course, favor delegating to such a world organization only such powers as might be necessary to enforce universal disarmament, and I would specifically retain every other power.

Basic Issue Is Freedom

In the meantime we must do nothing that might weaken or jeopardize our own national security. I think this means that in the years immediately ahead we shall have to spend substantially larger sums on our military establishment than we are now spending. The new weapons being invented are staggeringly expensive, but we can afford whatever is essential to our national freedom and survival.

A couple of years ago the great British historian, Arnold Toynbee, suggested that the twentieth century might be remembered not as the age of atomic bomb but as the first time when man had ever thought it practicable to distribute ALL the benefits of civilization to ALL people.

If we can achieve world peace through world law, Toynbee's prophecy can be fulfilled.

In any event, if we fail to do our part toward trying to achieve this goal, we ignore the aspirations of most of the rest of mankind, we will be untrue to the highest values that have motivated the United States throughout our past history.

This revolution of rising expectations throughout Asia, Africa and South America stems basically from the philosophy of the West. The philosophy that we have followed and preached. The challenge to us, therefore, is spiritual as well as political and economic. During the twelve lifetimes of this graduation season, we must decide: This issue of world peace and world law will remain free.

LISBON, Portugal —(AP)— Premier Antonio Salazar's National Union party easily fought off its first serious opposition in 30 years and scored a sweeping victory in Portugal's presidential election Sunday.

Adm. Americo Tomas, National Union candidate, was elected for the next seven



Tomas

years by a majority that approached 90 per cent. No vote breakdown was announced immediately.

OPPOSITION candidate Gen. Humberto Delgado conceded defeat. But he said bitterly he had no intention of sending congratulations to "those people."

"The elections only showed," he said in an interview, "that, like Hitler and Mussolini, nobody can win in Portugal against Salazar."

Only the name of Tomas was on the printed ballots. Supporters of Delgado had to write in his name.

TURNOUT at the polls was termed heavy, despite generally overcast weather. No violence was reported, but police broke up a crowd of nearly 1,000 cheering Delgado at the Lisbon high school where he voted.

Delgado charged fraud in the campaign. He said many of his supporters had been stricken from the register of voters for no good reason and many of his aides had been arrested trying to distribute ballots to voters.

He was the first opposition candidate for president of Portugal ever to stay in the race until election day. In his campaign, he said that if he won he would dismiss Salazar at once and appoint a military government to keep order until free elections could be held.

JERUSALEM —(UPI)— Israel has protested to the United Nations truce teams against bands of Syrian-trained Lebanese rebels using Israeli territory as a shortcut between Syria and Lebanon, it was learned Sunday.

The protests were filed with both the Israeli-Syrian mixed armistice commission and the Israeli-Lebanese mixed armistice commission.

Israeli troops intercepted a band of Lebanese rebels attempting to sneak across the border Saturday. One rebel was killed and 15 were captured. There were indications other rebels had slipped across undetected to join the anti-government forces in Lebanon.

Israeli authorities said the incident was proof of the intervention of the United Arab Republic in the Lebanese crisis.

NEW DELHI, India—(Reuters)—India is seeking a 600 million dollar loan from the United States to help meet the economic crisis, reliable sources said Sunday.

The trouble is indicated by the fact that this country's sterling balances sank to a record low of about 540 million dollars May 31. If the present drain continues, India will hit the danger point in four months and exhaust its sterling balance reserve in a year, authoritative reports

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's cabinet held several meetings on the situation last week. As a result, the New Delhi government is thought likely to approach both the British government and private financial interests in London for a long-term loan.

MINNEAPOLIS MORNING
TRIBUNE

Published Daily at 425 Portland Avenue Minneapolis 15 Minnesota by the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company. Second Class mail privileges authorized at Minneapolis Minnesota.
Telephone BR 3-3111

Telephone Federal 3-3111

SUBSCRIPTION RATES BY MAIL

MIDWESTERN NORTH DAKOTA SOUTH DAKOTA IOWA WISCONSIN

Monthly Income	.....	50¢	per week
Evening Star	.....	40¢	per week
Sunday Tribune	.....	20¢	per week

ALL OTHER STATES

Monthly Income	.....	50¢	per week
Evening Star	.....	35¢	per week
Sunday Tribune	.....	20¢	per week

Dr. Aronson says there is no reason to believe that the new law will have any effect on the cost of the reproduction of the newspaper. He says that the cost of the newspaper is determined by the cost of the paper, the cost of the ink, the cost of the press, and the cost of the distribution. He says that the cost of the newspaper is determined by the cost of the paper, the cost of the ink, the cost of the press, and the cost of the distribution.

Dayton's



The talk's all about our blithe-spirited blouses and their summer-fresh flower printings. Two shown here: left, Leslie Fay's silk print in blue, pink; 10-18, 25.95, from Misses' shop; right, Mr. Mort's printed and polished cotton, veiled with a printed sheer voile overblouse; pink, avocado green; 7-15, 29.95, from "Sub-Deb Shop. Both bare-armed show-offs at Dayton's: Downtown, third floor, Southdale, Upper level.